7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

756 welcome. After some little discussion, his parents allowed him to come with me on a visit, and later on the boy, whose name was Ambu, was allowed to attend my school. I found out from him that he understood very little of the doings of the witch-doctors. There were very few *manangs* near his village, and there was a difficulty in getting more than two or three to take part in their ceremonies over the sick, so Ambu was persuaded to join them and walk round when incantations were made. While the other Dyak doctors were well paid, Ambu received some trifle for his part in the proceedings. Ambu stayed with me nearly a year, and then returned to his people. I had a long talk with him before he went back about the work of the *manangs*. I said that my advice to him was not to have anything to do with their ceremonies for the next few years. If, when he was old enough to judge for himself, he still wished to be a *manang*, he could do so, but in the meantime he had better follow the advice of one who was older than himself, and knew something of the deceit of the *manangs*. I lost sight of Ambu soon after his return to his people, because the house was broken up, and the inmates moved to some distant part.

● 159 I conclude this rambling chapter with the romantic but true story of how one of the most influential native Catechists became a Christian through seeing the missionary teaching some boys in an up-country Mission School.

Buda was the youngest of the warrior sons of the old Orang Kaya Pemancha, the famous pirate and war-leader of the Saribas Dyaks in the old lawless days. One of his brothers, Haji, was killed fighting against the Government forces sent to punish the rebels and restore

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

● 159 order in the Saribas. Loiyo and Nanang, two other brothers, were at one time followers of Rentap, who held out so long against the Sarawak Government, and made Sadok Mountain, between the Saribas and the Skrang Rivers, his headquarters. The Dyaks often relate with keen interest the story of those ancient days when Rentap's stronghold, high up on Sadok Mountain, with precipitous approaches on every side, was considered impregnable. Many an expedition did the Government lead against Rentap, but to no purpose. Rentap, who was called by his followers the "Inland Rajah," and was the leader of the opposition to the rule of the Rajah of Sarawak, was supported by a large force of disaffected Saribas and Skrang Dyaks, and was not to be easily beaten.

In 1861, however, Rentap was losing his popularity, and a great many of his followers had deserted him. They could not endure the violence and wilfulness of their leader, and they saw that the Dyaks who had submitted to Rajah Brooke's Government were happy and flourishing. Moreover, Rentap had offended their Dyak prejudices. He had discarded his old wife, and married one of the girls he had taken captive, and called her "the Ranee of Sadok." This was contrary to all Dyak custom, and was greatly resented by his followers. In that year Loiyo and Nanang, two of Rentap's leading warriors, and their adherents, made their submission to Rajah Brooke. They had to give security to the amount of forty valuable jars (worth about £500), which were to be retained for three years, and then returned to their owners should they remain loyal.

The next expedition led by the Government succeeded in defeating Rentap. When he found that his stronghold

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)191 OC6 Iban OC6

was no longer tenable, he fled with such of his followers as were able, down the opposite side of the mountain. Deserted by most of his followers, he retired to the Entabai branch of the Kanowit River, and died there some years after.

Buda and his brother Unting, the two other sons of the Orang Kaya Pemancha, did their share of fighting during these troubled times, and took part in many a bold deed, to the annoyance of the Government. Unting married and settled at Saribas, and I knew him well. Buda married into a family at Sebetan, and made his home there.

I have told the history of Buda and his brothers in order to give some idea of the kind of reputation his family had among the Dyaks. At the time of Buda's visit to Banting, the Rev. W. R. Mesney (afterwards Archdeacon of Sarawak) was living at Banting with the Rev. Walter Chambers, who became afterwards Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak. Let me give the account of what happened in Mr. Mesney's own words :—

"Buda had started from his home to visit different places—*belelang*, as the Dyaks call it. He had with him a couple of favourite fighting-cocks, and these he matched against the cocks of the houses he came to in his wanderings. In this way he came down the Batang Lupar, and reached Banting, where he knew that a distant connection of his family lived, and for that house he shaped his course. He made himself known to these friends, who welcomed him, and were proud of a visit from the son of the Orang Kaya Pemancha. He put his fighting-cocks into one of the *kurongs* (baskets) under the *lantai* (flooring) of the house, and made his pets safe, and then, as it was just the time for the women to begin their rice-pounding,

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

he dressed himself up, and marched off, and found his way up the hill to the Mission House. 159

"I was just then there alone. Mr. Chambers was gone to visit some of the out-stations on the Batang Lupar. I was teaching half a dozen small fry at the table, which stood in what corresponded to the veranda in the old Mission House at Banting. I was not paying any attention to the door, nor troubling about who came in, as at that time of the day many young fellows, who were on the hill for any purpose, were in the habit of coming in and watching the boys learning. I was busy with a couple of the youngsters, when I noticed the others all press up close together, and begin whispering and signalling as Dyaks can, and showing unmistakable signs of uneasiness. When I saw this, I looked up to see the cause of it, and there, standing by one of the posts of the house, was a strange man, very unlike a Balau in dress and appearance, with his hand on the handle of his *ilang* (sword); in fact, behaving in quite a different way to the ordinary Dyak visitor. The boys did not like his manner at all, I could see, and I heard them whisper "*munsoh*" (enemy) to each other.

"I asked the man to sit down, but this he declined to do, for he continued standing there with his eyes fixed on us and his hand on the handle of his sword, from the sheath of which a large bunch of charms was suspended. I kept my eye on the man, and at the same time went on teaching. He continued to watch us for some minutes, and the boys got more and more uncomfortable. When at last the man actually came up to the table and picked up a piece of paper, I thought the boys would have all bolted. However, after looking at the paper for a few minutes, he made some remark, and I again asked him

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

●159 to sit down. This time he did what I asked him to do, and sat down on the floor just where he had been standing. I asked him the usual questions, "*Ari ni nuan?*" ("From where have you come?") and so on. He soon made some remark about the paper he had picked up, and we talked to each other. In the midst of our conversation, he suddenly got up and went to the door, where he proceeded to take off his sword and the great bunch of charms that he was wearing at his waist, and placed them very carefully down on the floor just outside the door, as he could not find anything to hang them up to. He came back, and this time took his seat on the form at the table. I went on for a short time longer teaching the boys, and then began talking to my visitor. He was very much interested, and said that he should like to hear more; might he come again when the boys were being taught? After he had gone, I heard who he was, and what he had come to Banting for.

"The next day he made his appearance again, and sat and listened while the boys had their lesson. The reading was the attraction to him, and he said that he would like to be able to read; might he stay at Banting, and come up to the Mission House for lessons? And so it came about that when Mr. Chambers returned, he walked into the Mission House, and found me with the redoubtable Buda, seated and quietly learning his A B C! Mr. Chambers, of course, knew the man well by reputation, and he took me aside, and asked me if I knew his character, and what he had done in the past. I could only say that I had gathered from the behaviour of other people that he was well-known, but that I had had no cause to complain of his behaviour during the few days he had been at Banting and coming to the Mission House. When Mr. Chambers

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

found the man was amenable, he was glad to have him at Banting, and Buda devoted himself to learning, and was quite a pattern scholar."

From this account it will be seen that Buda was first induced to take lessons by seeing Dyak boys being taught at an up-country Mission School. After a short stay in Banting he went back to his home, but returned to Banting again for more instruction. He was baptized, and afterwards worked as Catechist. He accompanied Mr. Chambers to his home in Sebetan, where he had already taught many of the Dyaks, and thus the Krian and Sebetan Mission was started. For many years Buda worked as Catechist at Sebetan under Mr. Perham, afterwards Archdeacon of Singapore.

When returning from one of his visits to Sebetan, Mr. Chambers persuaded Buda to come back to Banting and bring his wife and child with him, so that she might get more instruction. While at Banting on that occasion, Buda proposed to Mr. Mesney that he should go with him to the Saribas, and see whether they could not influence some of his relatives there in the Gospel message. Mr. Chambers hesitated for some time, because the Balaus of Banting distrusted the Saribas Dyaks, who used to be their enemies. But at last he said that, if Mr. Mesney was bold enough to visit the Saribas Dyaks, and could get men to accompany him, he might do so. There was some difficulty in getting the men, but this was overcome, and Mr. Mesney, accompanied by Buda and some Banting Dyaks, paid a visit to Saribas. That was the beginning of the Saribas Mission, which at the present time is the most successful and encouraging of all the missions in Sarawak.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

Sibu was headquarters from which punitive expeditions were launched against rebels in the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century. Defeated dissidents were resettled in the Sibu area, to be kept under surveillance by the Resident and troops.[40]

While some raja berani were openly hostile to the Brookes, maintaining their belligerence until forced to submit, others saw in the Rajahs an opportunity for confirmation of their positions through alignment with the Government against the hostile factions. Limited as they were in personnel and funds, the Rajahs took every advantage to strengthen ties between themselves and friendly Ibans by making them a part of punitive operations in which headhunting, otherwise illegal, was reluctantly accepted as a part of the punishment inflicted on rebels, hence, legitimized.

The alliance and employment of friendly Ibans with the Brookes is seen clearly in the story of Charles Brooke and the famous raja berani, Munan anak Minggat.[41] The son of Miggat, himself a famous government war-leader who engaged in various campaigns against Iban rebels in the Upper Katibas and Batang Lupar Rivers during the 1870's and 1880's, Munan was involved in a grand-scale family feud over the

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[40] "The tribe on the upper Katibas are moving down to the neighbourhood of Sibu, where it is the wish of the government that they should settle permanently." (SG No. 8, 17 December, 1879).

[41] See, Genealogy No. 23, p. 112, in Sandin 1967.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

195 appointment to a successor to his father as pengulu. Being the eldest
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159 son, Munan felt that he should take his father's place, and was backed in this by his mother and other powerful relatives. However, the Rajah appointed a man named Ampan, who was backed by the Resident, D.J.S. Bailey, who claimed that Ampan had been chosen in a free election (SG No. 320, 1 September, 1892).[42] Relations between Munan and Bailey grew increasingly hostile until in 1893, Munan was imprisoned in Kuching for allegedly having urged "home rule" to the people of the Krian (SG No. 336, 2 January, 1894). Released at the end of summer of 1893, Munan was ordered to move to Sibu.

After arriving in the Rejang, Munan and his followers built a longhouse at Pulau Keretau opposite Fort Brooke. He was an astute businessman and shrewd politician-cum-war-leader, quickly accumulating wealth and securing his position and virtual command of the lower Rejang and Igan Rivers by obtaining the appointment of his kinsmen as pengulu in Sarikei, Bawang Assan, Aup and Durin. With these political alliances approved by the Rajah, Munan was at the center of such a military network

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[42] This is doubtful, for as Pringle writes (1970-179n), the more common practice at that time was for the Resident to consult with the heads of longhouses and make the selection, subject to approval by the Rajah.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

175 that,
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> "he became the mainstay of any Government-sponsored war expedition operating in the Third Division."

Significantly, he had achieved his position by a "Government-sponsored" migration which permitted him the freedom to operate in the Rejang that previously had been denied him in the Second Division.

175 In 1898, Munan lead a force of 430 Ibans against the rebel
648 Rantin and his followers in the Upper Batang Lupar, at the request of
721 the Rajah. It is indicative of the alliance and relationship which had
159 developed to the mutual advantage of the Rajah and raja berani that Bailey, the Resident, was not officially informed of the action that was to be carried out in his own backyard. He distrusted rumors about the expedition, only to find that they were indeed true when Munan and his band, brandishing freshly taken heads, appeared before his headquarters on their triumphant return.

175 Munan was accorded special recognition by the Rajah who, in 1900,
648 conferred on him the special title, Pengulu Dalam, literally the "in
159 Pengulu" or the one on whom the Rajah depended.[43] He sat on Council Negri and received a regular salary from the Government as a native

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[43] In the case of Munan and later, of Pengulu Dalam Ujang, there had been a period of disfavor, after which neither could be appointed pengulu but whose favored positions were indicated in the title originated by Charles Brooke. For a discussion of the meaning and origin of pengulu dalam see Pringle, 1970-186n.

195 magistrate empowered to hear cases in court.
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159 Munan was among the first Ibans in the Third Division to plant rubber, and his advice was sought by Government when the Matang Estate was established near Kuching in 1903 (SG No. 448, 2 May, 1902). He invested in shophouses in the Sibu pasar and after the fire which destroyed the pasar in 1902, he was the first to undertake reconstruction of his shophouses, as mentioned in the Resident's report:

> "It is noteworthy of the enterprise of the Dyaks that the first to begin building on the old sites was the Dyak chief Pengulu Dalam, who although he lost by the fire two new houses is now erecting the first brick house yet build in Sibu."

In addition to the brick shophouses, described later on in the Resident's report as "the finest in Sibu," Munan also held rights to extensive areas of land in what now is the bukit Lima section of the Sibu Urban area.[44] Munan died in Sibu in 1914,

> "wealthy in money, in prestige, and in human head trophies, all of them taken loyally fighting for the Government."[45]

195 For whatever reasons, through the settlement of groups such as
648 Lintong's and Munan's the Rajah's "enemies" and "friends," the presence

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[44] These lands were kept in the family until Lemok anak Manggah's generation, when they were sold by her brother, Melina, to Chinese.

[45] For Munan's obituary, see SG No. 666, 16 December, 1914.

159 Enchul anak Rengga, Apai Jimmy, of Rumah Gaong, Sengan, is re-
167 presentative of those Ibans who retain their residences in rural areas
177 but have become intimately related to the values of the mercantile society of Sibu. For the insights that it may afford us, we will consider his life and work in detail, to understand both Enchul as an individual and those aspects of his personal history which reveal the effects of the pasar on the urbanizing Ibans.

Enchul was born in the old house of Rumah Imba, Salim, in about
[563] 1932.[11] He had four brothers, one of whom was an adopted Chinese. Enchul's father died when Enchul was fourteen. All of the brothers married out of their natal bilik except his adopted Chinese brother who still lives with Enchul's mother in Rumah Imba and takes care of her.

Following his father's death, Enchul went to school at Bawan for about six months. He was older than the other students and embarrassed about studying with younger boys, but he was determined to learn to read and write which he did in six months. While in school he also studied arithmetic (sam) and after returning to his home a Chinese shopkeeper taught him how to keep accounts and to do simple figuring. He gave him advice on how to buy and sell so as to make a profit.

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[11] Until recently, Ibans kept no records of births, these being remembered by residential sites or areas of farming when a child was born.

159 167 177 [487] [464] Enchul went travelling (bejalai) to see more of the country and to learn as much as possible through his trip. He worked at Miri for three months painting pipes for pumping gas from the shore to ships and then went to Baram where he worked for five months, tapping rubber on the edge of the jungle. After he had saved enough money for his return and to begin trading, he returned to Salim.

[584] [54] After his return to Salim, his mother arranged for him to marry his third cousin who lived in Sengan. In 1952, Enchul was married and because his wife was an only child, the adopted daughter of her parents; he went to live in her bilik. Before going on his trip, Enchul has saved M$1,400 and he had accumulated another M$ 400 during his travels. He had tried to save the money because he had been told by the Chinese shopkeeper how much money he would need to set up shop for himself. Enchul's father-in-law already had obtained a license to trade in the Sengan area, but hadn't opened a shop because he knew that he couldn't carry it on alone and he didn't trust any of his peers. Therefore, when Enchul married his daughter, his father-in-law agreed for him to open a shop off their tanju'.

Enchul's shop has done a steady trade and he attributes his success [8A] to a basic self-sufficiency in rice production. In his words,

> "I never have had a bad year or a year when I didn't get enough rice to carry through until the next harvest. I have never known want (bulan gantong sendok). Therefore, because I didn't have to buy rice, and often had enough to sell, I have been able to save and to invest my money. Year by year, I have

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been able to build my capital and reserves. Also, I have been thrifty and not wasteful- not seeing movies or playing around with women, because I figure I am already married."[12]

Enchul's wife and parents farm both swamp and hill rice and have good harvests from each. Unlike ninety per cent of the members of his [829] house, Enchul has a surplus of rice every year. In his opinion, successful farming is a matter of planting and hard work.

"The reason why only about one-tenth of the people in our house succeed in farming is that the others don't undertand the conditions for farming. Some farm too early, others too late. Some clear but don't weed, some weed but don't harvest. Others start their farms after we are finished. It's not so much a difference in luck or land. We farm the same kind of land as others who are unsuccessful in farming, and we get rice. It depends on hard work (tulang, lit. "bone"), not land. Those who are short of rice aren't unlucky but just don't farm or don't know how to farm."

[437] Because of their outstanding success in farming, Enchul's family often provides rice for other families in the house in exchange for labor, at a rate of one gantang (M$2.20) per day.

Unlike many other Ibans who sold their land near the roads as soon as they were opened, Enchul bought all the land he could afford. He and Embuas ank Imba have gone together and purchased all of the land two lots

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[12] Enchul is a keen cock-fighter, taking off each Sunday for Oya Road or Durin, making up losses suffered in betting thro h fares he carries to and from the fights.

● 159 deep from Mile 5½ to Mile 8½ on the Durin Road.
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[829]

> "Most Ibans don't know how to handle the changes that are happening. An Iban sells his land for M$1,000 and then hands it right back to the Chinese when he buys things from him. I tell the people in my house that on Chinese New Year the Chinese go to Tua Peh Kong (Deity of the Earth) and give thanks for us Ibans."

The first years after Enchul opened his shop were hard and filled with heavy work. He and his wife farmed, and he tried to get his shop going. He paddled a longboat down the twisting, log-choked Sengan to the mouth of the Manyan[13] where he loaded his cargo of rubber onto a motor launch going to Sibu. The trip from his house to Sibu took two days. He spent one day in Sibu doing business, and then returned to Sengan, arriving home late on the fifth day after he had left. When able, he hired two helpers, a prowsman and a bailer. After three years, he had saved enough to buy a small (5½ horsepower) outboard motor.

In 1960, Enchul had saved enough money to buy a rice-mill, explaining that he thought it was too much trouble for women to have to pound rice in the traditional way or to have to take the padi down to Nanga Manyan to have it husked. The mill is still in use and people who use it pay Enchul one dollar per picul to husk their rice.

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[13] In 1958 during one of the worst droughts in the history of Sibu, I travelled up the Sengan with Enchul, the trip from the mouth of the river to Rumah Gaong taking ten hours.

159 With the Class Twelve License, Enchul plans to operate a taxi on the
167 Durin Road, looking ahead to the time when he is too old or inclined not
177 to farm or tap rubber.

Enchul takes great pride in his son and daughter, both of whom passed the Common Entrance Examination and entered the Sibu Rural Secondary School. Because his own education was limited, he recognizes the potential values of higher education in the intensely competitive employment situation in Sarawak, and also in terms of the general knowledge which may be useful in what ever activities they undertake.

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> "A lot of children don't understand how to study and aren't encouraged by their parents, because the parents don't understand the benefits of education beyond the possibility of their children getting a salaried position and they, the parents, living off the money their children make. 'If the father is speckled, the child will be speckled' (Enti' apai buik, Burik anak ia). If the parents know how to plan and work, the children will also. But for the most part, we Ibans don't know how to plan in terms of long-range goals."

Enchul has achieved prominence in his longhouse community where his family is the most successful. His prominence is predicated on successive annual harvests of surplus crops of rice, and an unexcelled longevity in profitable shopkeeping. His daily trips to Sibu provide him with income from fares as well as with valuable contacts with friends. He is a familiar person to Chinese and Ibans alike on Channel Road, and representative of those Ibans who are adapting to the pasar, and in many respects acting as cultural brokers, while maintaining their residences in the longhouse communities.

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> "When I was left with my sister-in-law, I lost a lot of weight. Because, according to what people told me, my sister-in-law didn't look after me, and I was fed by people on either side of my bilik. Our neighbors took care of me, seeing to my needs of eating, sleeping and comforting me when I cried. I often had trouble: my mouth was burned because the milk was too hot, my stomach was scratched, and my knees, shins and arms were marked by my falling and because no one cared for me."

On two occasions, Berin almost drowned in the swift water near her home when she followed other people into the water. When her mother realized that her sister-in-law no longer could be trusted to care for her, she left her in charge of other people in the longhouse.

In 1961, Berin entered Temenggong Koh's school. Her mother took her to school in the morning and came for her each noon.

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> "(Each day) she brought me a bottle of milk because even though I was already in Primary One, I was still nursing. I didn't go off the bottle until I was in Primary Two. I often was scolded by the teacher because I would say that I had to relieve myself when in fact I wanted to get the bottle."

Berin became close to two of her classmates: Marietta Adang and Margaret Mia, both of whom were the same age as Berin. Whatever the one said the other two would do.

During the first years in primary school, she learned to be more independent.

After purchasing the rice-mill Enchul still had money left and invested M$400 in two tracts of land west of Rumah Gaong. He built a cattle-shed and bought fourteen head of cattle, a hearty type that could live on the scrub-grass of his land.[14]

After he had bought the cattle, Enchul heard that the Government was going to open a road to Oya. He began to plan immediately to buy a car realizing that it would be easier to travel by land than by water. In 1966, after the road had been cut through the forest some three miles distance from Rumah Gaong he bought an Austin van for M$9,850.

> "I studied how to drive - really hard - because at that time we Ibans didn't know how to drive a car. I didn't hire a teacher, but studied with Chinese with whom I was familiar, such as Ah Lin and Teh Ong, a tailor on Channel Road. Because they hadn't seen an Iban driving a taxi or car for profit, they didn't charge me, figuring that I was just going to play with my car."

After he thought that he knew enough, Enchul went to Sibu and made arrangements to take a test for his license. He and three of his companions met a Chinese who said to them,

> "Never mind taking the test. If you will give me one hundred dollars each, I can get your licenses for you."

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[14] Enchul has planted three species of grass obtained from a Government center to supplement the sparse grass and shrubs of his land.

159 The four Ibans gave the Chinese one hundred dollars each and he told them 167 that on the day of the test, all they had to do was to go in to the 177 License Office and pick up their licenses. He said that he didn't work in the office but had a friend who did and could issue the licenses without a test for that amount.

> "He took our money and took off for Brunei where he still is. Needless to say, we didn't get our licenses and were out one hundred dollars apiece."

Realizing that there was no easy way to obtain his license, Enchul decided to prepare himself for the test. But rather than taking the test immediately, he went to the testing office and lounged around while others were asked questions about laws of the road and driving. Most of his friends and many others failed the tests. When Enchul thought that he knew the answers to all the questions that possibly could be asked him, he took the test and to the surprise of Chinese and Ibans alike, passed the first time. He began driving his car, hauling goods for sale in his shop or for his own use, and carrying friends to and from Sibu.

When he heard about the Class Twelve License for taxi drivers, Enchul began his pursuit of it. The first two times he took the test he failed.

> "I figured that people who lived in the city had ways of passing, so I asked some of them about how to get the license. On 30 March, 1971, I took my test and passed it with great trembling and fear. I paid (the man) who taught and recommended me M$300 and smaller sums to other men with whom I studied and asked questions."

of rubber may vacillate; food may or may not be available. But in the pasar, there is no shortage of food and there are ways to get money with which to buy it.

Secondary reasons given for preference of life in the pasar are related to medical facilities and education. Several persons said that the unhygienic conditions of the longhouse and the lack of medical aid influenced their decisions to live in the pasar. Others said that the standard of education in rural schools is of such poor quality that the only chance for children is to get them into urban schools, beginning preferably at the kindergarten level.

Interestingly, many of the long-time residents of Sibu stated their preference for life in the longhouse. In several examples of informants saying one thing but doing another, men who have lived in Sibu for more than 20 years maintain that the only place where young people can become "true Ibans" is in the longhouse. A majority (43) of those who chose rural life are in the Sarawak Rangers. They indicated that they would serve out their time with the Rangers and then retire on pension to their longhouse communities. Only time will tell whether they return to the longhouse or continue to live in Sibu or some other pasar.

We now will consider in turn the examples of three residents of Sibu, who are representative of the larger population of Ibans. In the case of the last two, pseudonyms are used. These individuals personify many of the patterns of behavior and characteristics of the urbanizing Ibans and, it is hoped, will help to give more concreteness to elements

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

159 already discussed about the Iban population as well as social and cultural norms.

Anyau Bakit is representative of a large number of Ibans who have established their residences in Sibu, having found employment in various government departments or with companies. A man of quick mind and high ambition, he is one of the best-known Iban residents in the town.[18]

Anyau was born on 1 September, 1917, "of a middle class family," near Stras in the Binatang District. His family was neither very poor nor very rich, and had moved to Stras from the Second Division to escape the predations of more hostile Ibans (see quotation, page 83). His recollections of his childhood are a mixture of hardship, owing primarily to occasional shortages of food, and happiness, with a relatively close family life and playmates. While he was still young, his family moved to Nanga Nansang where they farmed, bringing him into contact with the large Iban community at Bawang Assan where many of his later ties were formed.

When he was eight years old, he entered the Roman Catholic Mission School in Sibu where he did well in his studies and his quickness was perceived by his teachers. He was one of the first Ibans in the District to attend school, a fact of which he is quite proud. In 1929 and 1930, he attended St. Thomas' School in Kuching, returning to Sibu in 1931 and

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[18] In 1971, Anyau was selected to serve on the Public Service Commission for a term of three years and now is living in Kuching, though he still maintains his home in Sibu.

159 completing his seventh standard in 1934 in the English Department of
167 Chung Hwa School.
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> "Because of the Rajah's policies about Iban education at that time, I couldn't continue my education. He was afraid that educated Ibans would be dangerous Ibans."

Having been away from his parents and life in the longhouse for almost ten years, Anyau returned home,

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> "to acquaint (myself) with the customs and life of my people. Though only a few of the native boys went to school and possessed such academic qualifications at that time . . . I had to humble myself and mix freely with the poor and rich people alike."

In early 1936, Anyau was recruited for work by the government. He was appointed a Forest Guard, a position which he held for one year, [584] when he left the service in order to marry his first wife, Piah. Piah was the sister of Jonathan Banggau, whose family had seen Anyau's ability and diligence and, in the words of a mutual friend, "wanted Anyau for a [586] member of the family." The marriage lasted for several years before the couple were separated, at about the same time as Anyau took up a position as a Sarawak Native Officer (kunsil) and was posted to Binatang.

In line with the Third Rajah's policy of including more non-Malays in administrative positions, Anyau states that he was due to be appointed to the position of District Officer when the Japanese invaded Sarawak.

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> "My life has been plagued with bad luck. Each time I worked diligently towards a good position, only to see it taken away from me just as it was within my grasp."

159 167 177 [587] [597]

Shortly after the Japanese invasion, Piah died. Following the period prescribed for a widower to show respect to his late wife and her family (entebalu), the kinsmen of Inoh made arrangements for her and Anyau to be married. Anyau was childless by both of his wives, so he and Inoh adopted three children, two daughters and a son, Mas, Nancy and Julian.

Following the surrender of the Japanese in 1945, Anyau was seconde to work with the British Military Administration as a correspondent in [875] Labuan. Upon his return to the Third Division in early 1946, he took up a teaching post in the Bawang Assan Local Authority School. He taught in the Bawang Assan school for nine years, working also as an inspector of native schools in the Sibu District.

> "I was proud indeed because Bawang Assan school under my supervision was making steady progress since 1946 to 1954, and it was noted with credit for being able to send more than 80 per cent of its students for secondary education to Batu Lintang Training College, Kuching."

In November, 1954, Anyau was called to work in the Cooperative Development Department, and held the post of Cooperative Officer. Taking up residence in Kampong Baru, Sibu, he travelled widely in the Third Division, encouraging Ibans,

> "to become productive and thrifty in order to uplift their standard of living as other communities such as the Chinese and others."

In 1960, Anyau entered the more formalized political activities [664] by standing for election to Council Negri. A man of small resources, he could not compete with other candidates, especially in the giving and promising of favors for votes, and he lost.

159 promising of favors for votes, and he lost. He continued work in the
167 Cooperative Office until 1967, when he retired after twenty five years
177 and eight months service.

> "I insisted to obtain retirement earlier due to the fact that I was requested by my native people to take up politics as they have ... confidence that I could be a good leader in the country."

Anyau's integrity soon was to be put to the test, when he was appointed a member of a small commission to adjudicate a land dispute of major proportions in the Third Division. Living on his small pension at the time, he was offered a sizable gift if he would render decision in favor of one of the parties. He refused to accept the gift, maintaining that,

> "my motto is to be fair with others and honesty is the best policy."

When elections were announced in Malaysia for 1969, Anyau was in-
665 clined to align himself with the opposition party, SNAP. He was prevailed upon by Dato Ling Beng Siong, a prominent Chinese timber tycoon, philanthropist and Alliance member, to work for him in the Pesaka Party Office in Sibu. A strong individualist and utterly loyal to his benefactor, Anyau occasionally found himself at odds with some of the party members. As a result, when the selection committee met to put up their candidates, another man was chosen to run in the ward in which Anyau wanted to stand.
666 Undaunted, Anyau stood for election as an independent under the sign of

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

154 the clock.[19] Again, however, he could not compete against the campaign
167 of his opponent and lost the election.
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[666] Following the election, Anyau had considerable time on his hands in which to consider other ways to gain a position in government. Although himself Christian,[20] Anyau's lengthy residence in the Malay kampong, his numerous contacts with members of the ruling Alliance, and his unquestioned integrity, placed him in a favorable position for consideration to a government post. After the several disappointments in his quests as a civil servant and politician, he deemed it only just when he received word that he had been appointed to the prestigious Public Service Commission,[21] a post for which he is eminently qualified. His perseverance and patience have brought to him the rewards which he has sought.

Callisto Berin is a school-leaver from the Kapit District. Like many other young people for a variety of reasons, she is disinclined to

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[19] One of the several signs related to candidates to help illiterate voters identify the candidates of their choice.

[797] [20] Anyau was one of the men responsible for the entrance of more than 250 Ibans of the Bawang Assan community into the Methodist Church in 1953, seeing in Christianity a way of "progress and civilization."

[21] A commission that serves to review promotions for all government employees, the members of the P.S.C. receiving substantial salaries and allowances.

159 return to her longhouse and now is living with her husband in Sibu where
167 they met.
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Berin was born on the 3rd of July, 1953, near Nanga Entuloh off
599 the Balleh. Even before Berin was born, her mother dreamed that she should give Berin to another woman some distance from their home. She was the youngest of 14 children. When she was one week old, she was taken to her foster-mother,

> "because she had been awaiting my birth. Fortunately my foster-mother had herself just given birth but her child had died, so she was brave enough to take me, and had the milk to nurse me."

159 Berin has strongly ambivalent feelings about her childhood in the
167 longhouse of her foster-parents. Her best friend was a little boy, Wilfred
177 Nyawai, who was about the same age as Berin. The two played and as often
855 fought together.

> ". . . I was a quarrelsome child and quick to scold others. . . Because Wilfred was a boy and stronger, he often beat me. However, we were good friends, playing together with his sisters and with his grandparents and mine."

As she grew older, her mother left her in care of her sister-in-law while she went to the farm. According to Berin, her sister-in-law resented her and the responsibility of having to look after her.[22]

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[22]Having doubts about the veracity of some of Berin's life history, I sought out her cousin who verified all parts of it, corroborating her reluctance to return to the longhouse because of the differences between her and her adopted family.

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"I learned the difference between 'yes' and 'no,' to be ashamed (malu), and the spirit of competition because I did not want to be defeated by my friends (enggai alah ari pangan), both of whom were very keen in school."

Berin was very close to Wilfred, Margaret and Marietta, but she did not make friends easily. The three were her only friends until she reached secondary school.

[164] In the third grade, Berin contracted typhoid fever and couldn't attend school for a month. She was seriously ill for about a week. Because of the harvest, her mother had to spend the night away and the people who had been asked to look after her didn't do so. During the night she became delirious and thrashed wildly about in her bed. Luckily the people in the next bilik heard her and came in to care for her. The people went to the farm though it was night and brought Berin's mother back, for they didn't know whether she would live. She recovered but the illness severly weakened her.

Like many Iban children, Berin was sensitive to scolding and particularly by members of her adopted family. Once while washing a glass, she dropped it and it broke on the floor. Her sister-in-law was angry with her, grabbed a piece of burning wood and stuck it onto Berin's hand. The next evening she dropped a brass lamp which fell and broke a plate. Her foster-mother got a broom and swept Berin's face with the broom.

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> "Because of the troubles that had befallen me on those two successive evenings, I felt that there was no one who loved me and didn't care if I lived or died. Even though they had fed and cared for me for a long time, at that time their love meant nothing to me. I ran from the bilik not knowing where to run. Feeling that I had nowhere to go, I flung myself off the tanju'. My uncle had followed me and as I leaped, he grabbed my arm and hair and kept me from falling. He took me to his bilik where I stayed for a while."

[731] In 1966, Berin's house was hit by a flash flood. She was alone in the house and terrified as the water rose.[23] Fortunately, her section of the longhouse withstood the flood and by climbing above the rushing waters she saved herself. The same year, Margaret Andang died leaving only Marietta of Berin's close girl friends.

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177 Berin's happiest experiences were spent with the girls of her longhouse. With them she would gather various types of fruit of season, fish with baskets and pound derris root, and collect jungle ferns.

> ". . . More than all other things I loved to play asin (cross-catch) and passing the stone. I really enjoyed those games."

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177 At the end of her sixth year of school, Berin failed to pass the Common Entrance Examination. Though she thought that she couldn't go on

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[23] Flash floods in many upriver areas can be awesome experiences; for example, in 1970 a flood hit the Menuan River just below Kapit, sweeping a recently constructed bridge and seven units of one longhouse before it.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 066 Iban 00
Sibu

159 to school, she was given a work scholarship to the Methodist Secondary
167 School, Kapit, and lived in the Girls' Hostel. Her experiences away
177 from home were rewarding in the friendships that she made, particularly with the hostel mother. During the school holidays in her first year, she returned to her longhouse to help tap rubber and with farm work.

> "When the illipe nuts were in season I gathered as many as possible. I worked hard for I realised how much I was indebted to the family who had raised and cared for me. At the same time I realized how much I had suffered at their hands. . .For the past few holidays, I haven't gone back to my foster-parents because they haven't care whether I returned or not."

In 1969, Berin took the Sarawak Junior Examination and failed it. When the opportunity appeared for her to enter a private school in Sibu,
[152] she accepted. Again, she became very close to the hostel mother though her relations with her peers were strained and complicated by unresolved conflicts towards her mothers[24] and herself.

> "I met (the hostel mother) here and she has become my friend so that I don't have any more longings to go back to my mother who gave me birth."

During her second year in the private school in Sibu, she met a member of the security forces to whom she was attracted. He in turn was attentive to her, taking her on dates, giving her presents and a fun-time

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[24] In relating her life history, Berin made several remarks about her desire to "return to the mother of my birth." It is significant that the only adult male figure to appear in her account is her uncle.

159 in the town. After about one year's courtship, they became engaged and
167 Berin dropped out of school to marry him. Because she was a Methodist
177 and he a West Malaysian Muslim, they had a civil marriage. When Berin refused to even consider returning to her longhouse, they have established their residence in Sibu awaiting the end of his tour of duty in Sarawak when they will move to West Malaysia.

Although Berin's case has a number of unusual features about it, by no means is it exceptional. Rather, it serves to illustrate the breach in expectations that often occurs between members of the older generation who are more oriented to traditional norms and members of the younger generation who are more open to new values. In Berin's case, the interpretations that she has made of her family relations are satisfactory rationalizations to her of a situation to which she is unwilling and unable to return. Despite the estrangement that she depicts between herself and her adopted family, her foster-mother fully expected her to return to the bilik, and Berin in Sibu as soon as she heard of the marriage. This expectation was based on the fact that Berin now is the only child of her bilik-family and was looked to as the parents' heir and supporter in old age. Nevertheless, Berin's orientation now is away from the longhouse community and it is doubtful that she will return to that pattern of life except for occasional visits.

Johnny anak Meling was born just after the end of the Japanese occupation at Sungai Tutus, a tributary of the Igan River. Meling, his father, had been born at Tutus and his mother, Rani, had been born at

159 Bungan farther down the Igan. Meling and Rani are first cousins, and
167 their marriage was arranged by their parents. Johnny has four brothers
177 and one sister, all of whom are living the same house as their parents.

Johnny's family was very close, the relations between the siblings most amiable. They played together with other children of the longhouse and other than for small incidents, Johnny remembers no fights or disagreements that marred their life. Though Johnny and his wife have lived in Sibu less than two years, all of his siblings as well as his parents have visited him.

His schooling ended withe Primary Four because he was disinterested in the subjects which he had to study.

> "My favorite subjects were drawing and art. The other lessons were difficult and I just couldn't get them. So I stopped school after Primary Four."

With abundant land and an adequate labor force, Johnny's family has never had to buy food. Growing wet rice on two principal areas which they farm alternate years, they always have been able to live off their own rice and never have been forced to buy rice in Johnny's memory. His mother, sister and other women in the community are the principal farm workers, so that the men are released to seek other forms of employment.

After he stopped school, he joined his father in working for a sawmill near their home. When work at the sawmill was cut back and they were laid off, the two of them and other men from their community went to other areas for work in logging and sawmills.

159 167 177 When he was sixteen Johnny was married following the traditional pattern of courting (begayap). After he had visited the girl whom he wanted several times at night and she had agreed with his intentions, he made arrangements through his parents for them to ask the girl's parents. Agreement was reached, and a Gawai Nelah Pinang was held. The marriage lasted two years after which the girl returned to her parents' bilik.

Johnny remarried when he was twenty but the second time with less ceremony. He gave his new wife a gold ring, paid one dollar and informed the tuai rumah and tuai bilik (beterang ka tuai) that they were marrying. Like Johnny, his second wife also had been married and divorced.

Johnny continued to work for the sawmill near his home until he was 23. Hearing an announcement that the Field Force was recruiting personnel, he applied and to his delight was accepted.

> "I wasn't needed for farm work and I was tired of working at the sawmills. That work is hot and heavy, the days long and the wages low, so I figured that I would rather get into something else. That's the reason why I signed on with the Field Force."

When he and his wife moved into Sibu in May, 1970, their quarters were not ready. They were housed together with other recruits and their families in the new shophouses along Lanang Road. Upon completion of the Field Force barracks they moved to the Lanang Camp in May, 1971.

Because of his work in sawmills throughout the Third Division, Johnny knows a large number of Ibans, Chinese and Malays with whom he has worked. Many of these men he has met in Sibu and they visit his and

159 frequently have drinks together in the numerous pasar coffe shops. Johnny
167 and his wife go to the pasar whenever possible, their favorite pastimes
177 being going to the movies (especially Hindustani) and sitting over a drink in the coffee shops, watching the people go by.

159 Johnny's parents and his wife's visit them about once a month,
574 bringing rice, palm cabbages and other vegetables. Other members of their
167 home community stay with them from a night to a week, and sometimes longer,
177 when they are in Sibu on business or keeping a sick relative in the hospital. Such visitors are welcome and repay their hosts with bags of rice, fruit which may be in season, fish, pork, and vegetables.

> "I never charge them for staying with me, for that wouldn't be right according to Iban adat. Besides, they bring in food to help and I am glad to see them."

159 Johnny enjoys the security of a regular income, though by his
167 calculation, his salary of M$ 160 a month is not very much. Of this a-
177 mount, he gives about M$ 30 each month to his parents. Despite what he
465 considers to be a rather low salary, he feels that this is better than the uncertainity of other activities.

> "When I was younger, we Ibans put emphasis upon farming. Now, it's education. Formerly, people wanted a son-in-law who was strong so that he could help them with farm work. Now they aren't choosy just so he earns wages. In the past parents wanted to know from which family a man came. Now, they want to know how much his salary is each month."

159 Johnny's wife is not employed, but he gives her a small amount
167 for herself above their food money. As often as not he buys their food,
177 a pattern that is common among many Iban families. His wife resents his going to town for no reason and his "wasting money" by drinking and cock-fighting. Otherwise, however, their relations are congenial.

He is not sure of his future. By his own evaluation, he has a good life in the Field Force. The only aspect of it that he doesn't enjoy is having to stand guard duty at night. But otherwise, he feels, his housing is provided, his salary and gifts from family and friends adequate, and he lives an easy, worry-free life near the pasar where they are things to see and do.